

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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R 090745Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9473
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 6422

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, AF
SUBJECT: COMRADE TARAKI SPEAKS HIS MIND IN A SERIES OF
PUBLIC ADDRESSES

1. SUMMARY. IN A SERIES OF RECENT PUBLIC SPEECHES,
"COMRADE" NOOR MOHAMMAD TARAKI (COMRADE IS A TITLE
NOW FREELY USED PUBLICLY WITH TARAKI AND MOST OF THE
OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP), CHAIRMAN OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND PRIME MINISTER, SET FORTH
HIS VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES. HE TOOK A GENERALLY
UPBEAT VIEW OF THE DOMESTIC SECURITY SITUATION, A
STANCE NOT FULLY SUPPORTED BY AVAILABLE EVIDENCE, AND WHICH
TARAKI HIMSELF CONTRADICTED TO SOME EXTENT IN HIS OWN
REMARKS. HIS STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY REFLECTED HIS VIEWS
ON COUNTRIES HE REGARDED AS THE REGIME'S TRUE FRIENDS, AND
WERE NOT OVERLY REASSURING FOR U.S. AND WESTERN INTERESTS.
WHILE TARAKI'S LANGUAGE APPEARS LESS STRIDENT THAN THAT
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OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTER (AND CERTAINLY THAT OF THE
GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA), IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THIS
REPRESENTS A SUBSTANTIVE OR MERELY A COSMETIC DIFFERENCE
IN APPROACH. END SUMMARY.

2. INTERNAL SECURITY. A MAJOR THEME OF TARAKI'S
VARIOUS SPEECHES WAS THAT "FULL TRANQUILITY PRE-

VAILS" THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. HE REPEATEDLY HIT HARD AT THE FORCES OF "BLACK REACTION" WHICH ARE RESISTING HIS REVOLUTION , AND CLAIMED THAT "THERE IS NO MOVEMENT ANYWHERE IN THE COUNTRY" WHICH THREATENS THE REGIME. TARAHI IMPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT POTENTIAL RESISTANCE EXISTS, HOWEVER, AS HE SAID THAT "RIGHTIST AND LEFTIST LUNATICS" ARE WAITING FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH ACTIONS AGAINST US," BUT THAT THE "AMRY FULLY DOMINATES THE SITUATION."

3. ROLE OF RELIGION. AS THE MONTH OF RAMADAN STARTED, TARAHI DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO HIS REGIME'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ISLAM. IN ONE ADDRESS, TARAHI STRESSED THAT UNDER HIS REGIME "ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES ARE SAFEGUARDED", BUT HE ADDED THE PREVIOUSLY SEEN CAVEAT THAT "NO ONE WILL BE ALLOWED TO ACT AGAINST THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE UNDER THE GUISE OF RELIGION." EXPANDING ON THIS THEME, TARAHI CLAIMED THAT COLONIALISTS HAD USED "THE MASK OF RELIGION" THROUGHOUT HISTORY AS A MEANS TO SUPPRESS "PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS" IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES. NEVERTHELESS, TARAHI ASSERTED THAT SUCH FORCES, WHICH STILL EXIST IN AFGHANISTAN, "SHOULD BE UPROOTED LIKE A CANCER TUMOR".

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4. PARTY AFFAIRS. IN HIS LENGTHY ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE 4TH AND 15TH ARMORED BRIGADES STATIONED JUST OUTSIDE KABUL (THE KEY TANK UNITS DURING THE APRIL 27 COUP), TARAHI GAVE FULL CREDIT TO THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS WITHIN THE MILITARY FOR THE SUCCESSFUL OVERTHROW OF THE DAOUD REGIME. HE REITERATED THAT DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN CARRIED THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LIAISON BETWEEN THE PARTY (THE "VANGUARD OF THE WORKING CLASS") AND THE MILITARY, AND ASSERTED THAT COMMANDERS OF ALL MILITARY UNITS, LARGE AND SMALL, ARE EITHER MEMBERS OR SYMPATHIZERS OF THE PDPA. TARAHI INSISTED THAT THE PARTY SHOULD BECOME "MORE ORGANIZED, MORE EFFECTIVE AND LARGER," AND THAT "FROM NOW ON, A MORE EXACT MANIFESTO AND PARTY DISCIPLINE WILL BE ENVISAGED." HE ADDED THAT "OUR COMRADES" WHO BECOME PARTY MEMBERS WILL BE "PHILOSOPHERS, DIALECTICIANS, AND WILL KNOW SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES" AND HOW TO IMPLEMENT THEM. TARAHI DIVIDED THE WORLD INTO TWO IDEOLOGIES -- "IMPERIALIST IDEOLOGY" AND "PEOPLES IDEOLOGY" -- AND HE CLAIMED THAT NEITHER RECOGNIZES ANY BORDER. IN

THIS CONNECTION, HE URGED ONE OF HIS AUDIENCES TO "STUDY THE IDEOLOGY OF EXPLOITERS AND ALSO THE IDEOLOGY OF WORKERS AS A SCIENCE AND EQUIP YOURSELVES WITH THAT IDEOLOGY WHICH IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKERS AND TOILERS."

5. FOREIGN AFFAIRS: DEFINITION OF NONALIGNMENT. TARAKI IMPLIED THAT HIS WORKING DEFINITION OF NONALIGNMENT AMOUNTS TO NONMEMBERSHIP IN "MILITARY BLOC." HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT NONALIGNMENT DOES NOT MEAN THAT AFGHANISTAN CANNOT TAKE STANDS ON WORLD ISSUES, SUCH AS AGAINST APARTHEID AND INTER-FERENCE IN ANOTHER COUNTRY'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. TARAKI CONTENDED AT ONE POINT THAT HE HAD EXPLAINED
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THESE PRINCIPLES TO UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM AND TO AMBASSADOR DUBS, AND INSISTED THAT "WE HAVE FREE WILL", AND "NO ONE CAN DICTATE TO US."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 6422

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT CORRECTED)

6. FOREIGN AFFAIRS: RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN. TARA KI REAFFIRMED THE AFGHAN POSITION SPELLED OUT BY AMIN IN HIS SPEECH IN BELGRADE (KABUL 6276) WHEREIN "MEMBERS OF MILITARY BLOCS HAVE NO RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NONALIGNED CONFERENCE AS A REAL MEMBER OR OBSERVER". FURTHERMORE, HE INSISTED AMIN WAS RIGHT IN STATING THAT COUNTRIES WHO ARE MEMBERS OF "AGGRESSIVE BLOCS" (CENTO AND NATO) WOULD NOT SIT ALONGSIDE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES. ON ANOTHER TACK, TARA KI WARNED AGAINST INTERFERENCE IN THIS COUNTRY'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS BY FORCES OF IMPERIALISM AAND REACTION, AND CLAIMED THAT "WE ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS STRUGGLE" AND FRIENDLY INTERNATIONAL FORCES "SUPPORT US".

7. COMMENT: DESPITE TARA KI'S SANGUINE ATTITUDE
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THAT ALL IS TRANQUIL ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT, HIS REMARKS REGARDING OPPOSITION FROM THE LEFT AND RIGHT REFLECT THAT RESISTANCE TO HIS REGIME IN FACT, EXISTS. RIGHTIST OPPOSITION CLEARLY STEMS FROM THE RELIGIOUSLY CONSERVATIVE GROUPS, WHILE TARA KI MAY HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO REMAINING PARCHAMIST AND MEMMERS OF THE PRO-CHINESE SHOLAI-JAWAID PARTY AS "LEFTIST" OPPOSITION. IN TANDEM WTH HIGH-LEVEL PUBLIC STATEMENTS, THE REGIME IS EVIDENTLY PURSUING AN ENERGETIC DOMESTIC SECURITY PROGRAM AS REPORTS OF ARRESTS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PLOTTERS CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE. MOREOVER, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED ON AUGUST 3 THAT IT HAD ARRESTED A GROUP OF BURGLARS WHO WERE DISGUIISING THEMSELVES AS ARMY TROOPS AND LOOTING PRIVATE HOMES AFTER CURFEW. PREVIOUS WIDESPREAD RUMORS INSISTED THAT THIS BAND WAS BEING LED BY A STAUNCH ANTI-COMMUNIST WHO WAS USING THE PROCEEDS FROM THESE ROBBERIES TO FINANCE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES, AND ALSO, BY HIS METHODS WAS COSTING DOUBT ON THE INTEGRITY OF THE REGIME.

8. THE GENERAL THRUST OF TARA KI'S REMARKS ON RELIGION REFLECTS A CRUCIAL EFFORT ON HIS REGIME'S PART TO REASSURE THE POPULATION THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KABUL REPRESENTS NO THREAT TO ISLAM IN AFGHANISTAN. BEYOND THIS, THE CAMPAIGN COULD CONSTITUTE A PROGRAM TO PORTRAY THE REGIME AS THE GENUINE REPRESENTATIVE OF "REFORMIST ISLAM" AND TO PAINT CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS AS MERE TOOLS OF RELIGIOUS "REACTIONARIES" WHO HAVE DECIEVED

AND EXPLOITED THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN AND OTHER
MUSLIM COUNTRIES FOR GENERATIONS. IN THIS CONNEC-
TION, TARAHI WAS CAREFUL TO PARTICIPATE PERSONALLY
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IN THE CEREMONIES MARKING THE ADVENT OF RAMADAN.

9. THE PDPA CONTINUES TO RECEIVE THE BULK OF THE
CREDIT FOR OUSTING DAOUD, AND, SO FAR, THERE HAVE
BEEN NO MANIFESTATIONS THAT THE MILITARY HAS TAKEN
EXCEPTION TO THIS PARTICULAR VERSION OF THE EVENTS
IN APRIL. THE LAURELS ACCORDED AMIN FOR HIS WORK
REINFORCES HIS STATUS AS THE NUMBER TWO POLITICAL
POWER IN THE COUNTRY.

10. TARAHI'S REMARKS ON FOREIGN POLICY CLEARLY
REFLECT HIS VIEWS ON WHOM HE CONSIDERS THIS
COUNTRY'S "REAL FRIENDS". EVEN THOUGH TARAHI'S
POSITIONS APPEAR RELATIVELY MORE MODERATE THAN
THOSE OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTER AND THOSE REFLECTED
IN THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA, THESE CONTAIN
LITTLE THAT IS REASSURING FOR U.S. AND WESTERN INTERESTS.
IN THIS REGARD, THE LATEST MEDIA PHRASE USED TO
DESCRIBE THE "GREAT NORTHERN NEIGHBOR" IS "STRONG-
HOLD OF PEACE".
DUBS

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